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ABSTRACT

This study builds on the findings of a prior study of the information needs of immigrant families in Sweden to explore the manner in which immigrants come in contact with and use the various channels of information available to them in their new surroundings, especially those channels carrying messages in the major migrant languages. Intended to provide information for use in the practical program production activities of the minority language programming units at Sveriges Radio, the study reports results based on interviews with a sample of 228 Yugoslav, Greek, and Turkish immigrants residing in southern Sweden. Areas explored include the types of mass media used, as well as the degree of use of media in Swedish and in the native language; awareness of sources of official information in the native language; the level of the adults' knowledge of Swedish and the children's knowledge of their parents' language; types of employment and sources of information for finding housing and work; and the types of broadcast programs needed. The research methodology and the sample population are briefly described in Appendix 1; Appendix 2 outlines the types of programming for immigrants broadcast in the spring of 1976 in Finnish, Serbo-Croatian and Greek, and Turkish. (RAO)

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No 9-76/77

IMMIGRANTS AND THE MASS MEDIA IN SWEDEN

Interviews with Yugoslav, Greek and Turkish families in the South of Sweden.

Birgitta Löwander

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FOREWORD

So far, the project entitled "Immigrants and the Mass Media" initiated by the Audience and programme Research Department of Sveriges Radio has focussed on information. The present study mainly describes how immigrants come in contact with and use the various channels of information available to them in their new surroundings -- above all those channels carrying messages in the major immigrant languages. Thus, we have studied immigrants' need of information and the available means of satisfying those needs. In the course of our interviews we have become aware of other areas that immigrants consider at least as important as gaining information per se, e.g. the need for contact with one's own culture and the possibilities of maintaining that contact. We encountered a widespread longing for cultural contacts in the way of sports, music, song and dance, and literature. Future studies within the project will concentrate more on broader cultural needs than information.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The project "Immigrants and the Mass Media" was started in conjunction with the start of programme production in Serbo-Croatian, Greek and Turkish on the part of Sveriges Radio. The project commenced with an interview survey among immigrant families prior to the first broadcasts. (SR/PUB no. 37-75/76)

Given the information gained in this first study, we are now trying in a more comprehensive fashion to trace the relationship between daily patterns of activity and immigrants' contact with the media and information in Swedish society. We are now able to follow up Sveriges Radio's radio and television programmes for immigrants. From the beginning it has been our intention to integrate the project and its findings into the practical programme production activities of the newly formed minority language programming units at Sveriges Radio. It is also our hope that the findings of the project will be of use in the formulation of policy concerning Sveriges Radio's programming for cultural minorities.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS

The aim of the study has been to describe how immigrants orient themselves in their new "media surroundings", how they go about seeking information, and the extent to which they are reached by messages communicated via the mass media and authorities. With what media do they come in contact? How do they find out about the various media? We wish to relate such questions to other basic living conditions as defined by work, family and leisure activities. To what extent do immigrants' knowledge of and access to the various media permit them to participate in the flow of information? How important are the respective media in their daily lives?

We are interested above all in finding out the extent to which immigrants are aware of the information offered them in their native languages. Do they know about Sveriges Radio's newly initiated broadcasts? Do they know what state authorities have established with respect to their basic civil rights in Swedish society? How have they found out about these things?

3. HOW MAY PROGRAMMING FOR IMMIGRANTS SATISFY THE GOALS OF SWEDISH IMMIGRATION POLICY?

The guidelines for Swedish policy vis-à-vis immigrants and cultural minorities state that the aim should be to create equality between minority ethnic groups and the Swedish people. Immigrants are to enjoy the same opportunity, rights and obligations as the population in general. Immigrants and minority groups should be given freedom of choice as to the extent to which they wish to be assimilated into Swedish culture or to retain and develop their original cultural identity. Government policy should also strive to encourage cooperation and interaction between Swedes and immigrants in order to promote feelings of solidarity between them and, secondly, to increase immigrants' and minority individuals' opportunity to influence decisions affecting their own situation.

Sveriges Radio, in the company's formal response to the findings of the Parliamentary Commission on Immigration, points to the absence of policy for cultural minorities within SR as well as the fact that the Agreement between Sveriges Radio and the State makes no reference to the need of programming for cultural minorities. The response also points out that SR may interpret 7& in the Agreement to the advantage of minority groups in the future.

Sveriges Radio does not consider radio and television the most effective channels by which to convey information to cultural minorities. We share this judgement. Nevertheless, Sveriges Radio's programmes in immigrant languages are important channels of news and information about events and processes in the immigrants' new environment. Radio and TV may also convey news about their homelands. The broadcast media represent channels that are already open to most immigrants, as practically all have acquired radio and television sets. All immigrants -- regardless of knowledge of Swedish -- find such programming vital to keeping their native languages and links with their homelands alive. Such programming is not only important for those with limited knowledge of Swedish. One should not assume that the immigrant's need of programmes in his native tongue declines as his fluency in Swedish grows. To hear

about one's former home in one's native tongue is just as important to the immigrant who knows Swedish as to those with language handicaps.

Government immigration policy provides that immigrants be given the opportunity to retain and develop their cultural heritages and languages in Swedish society. The government Commission mentioned above provides that the immigrant, should he so desire, shall be able to retain his original identity.

We believe that for most immigrants the very fact of having left their familiar home environment, surroundings in which they felt secure and could manage their daily life with relative ease, necessarily implies either loss of identity or an involuntary change in it. It is impossible to retain one's "original identity" after emigration. It is impossible to continue being the same person in the face of an environment that perceives and reacts toward one differently than one is accustomed to. Such a change gives rise to far more intense frustration than the language barrier itself implies. From having been a respected and trusted member of society to being looked upon with scepticism and condescension has been the experience of most immigrants in Sweden.

Anna-Greta Heyman [1] writes: Being a part, belonging to a group, in which relationships and the pattern of life are tacitly understood, having a defined role recognized by oneself as well as the group, and experiencing a natural continuity in life, all this gives a person his identity. It is a process in which one's own self-recognition and the silent confirmation of the group are equally important. All these factors contributing to one's sense of identity are jeopardized and "assaulted" in the act of emigration, whereby the Gemeinschaft is dissolved, one's role undergoes change, life's continuity is broken and recognition no longer exists. Add, then, negative expectations on the part of the immigrant and/or his new environment -- let alone overt discrimination, and the risk of an identity crisis naturally looms quite large.

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1) "Invandrarproblem, Fem uppsatser om invandrar- och minoritetsproblem" /Five essays on the problems of immigrants and minorities/ IMFO-gruppen, School of Education, University of Stockholm, 1975.

Identity crisis as a consequence of emigration can be allayed, if not prevented, if contact with the immigrant's native tongue and cultural heritage can to some extent be maintained -- accessible and fully sanctioned.

We consider that the point of departure for all programme production must be the receivers -- the persons for whom the programmes are produced. Programming must be based on the reality experienced by the immigrant group today as well as its cultural and social background. Immigrant groups have quite varying cultural backgrounds, and there are many differences within the various ethnic and cultural minorities, as well. Religion, political traditions, norms and attitudes with respect to members of the family, social intercourse, leisure activity, and much, much more vary widely. Present living conditions, too, may vary considerably. Differences in knowledge of the Swedish language can lead to differences in conditions and standard of living among immigrants. Most of the news events occurring in Swedish society are available only to those few immigrants who have a good command of Swedish. These diferences in familiarity with Swedish society, and even knowledge of the former homeland, make demands of programming with respect to format and content. Individuals with language, social and knowledge handicaps have limited prospects of keeping abreast of news and current events or retaining and developing their cultural heritage.

Sveriges Radio's programming can fill both the immigrant's subjectively perceived needs as well as those perceived by society. What this programming offers may not always be what individual immigrants feel is most important. Perhaps the immigrant would rather have content that he, seen objectively, has less need of in his daily life. He may not be in as urgent need of information about his rights and obligations in Swedish society as of a little music from home to soothe the longing and sense of loss he feels. On the other hand, it is sometimes necessary to stress didactic ideals in order to fulfill the goals articulated in government immigration policy stipulating equal opportunity for immigrants and native Swedes alike.

In time, the individual acquires a new identity, conditioned by the social situation in which he finds himself. This identity is a joint product of one's original heritage and one's new reality. Radio and television programmes will assume great importance in keeping the various minority cultures alive. That these programmes will often deal with Sweden and Swedish phenomena need not imply any conflict. Alterations in one's identity, deriving from one's new social context, create a new cultural synthesis. The broadcast media can promote and encourage the development of a new culture.

4. INTERVIEWS WITH 228 IMMIGRANTS

The results presented here are based on interviews with a sample of Yugoslav, Greek and Turkish immigrants residing in Malmö and Trelleborg in southernmost Sweden. The problems encountered in defining the sample are described in the appendix, which also contains an account of the frequency of non-response. Non-response in the sample has resulted in an overrepresentation of younger children and young parents compared to the actual immigrant populations in the two communities. Non-response also prevents a geographic comparison of the smaller community (Trelleborg) with the larger city (Malmö). Neither do the results afford any generalization to the immigrant communities in Sweden as a whole.

4.1 Immigrants and information

Radio, television and newspapers are the main news media. Organs of government use these channels, but possess their own channels, as well; the frequently rely on printed brochures in their information campaigns. Invandrartidningen (The immigrant gazette) is yet another valuable channel. Authorities also communicate information via local immigration bureaux in communities throughout Sweden, including bureaux in Malmö and Trelleborg. In the present study we were interested in the information offered by both the mass media and authorities and the actual importance of this information in terms of immigrants' efforts to gather information. Probably the most vital channels of information are the various immigrant clubs and associations, without which much of the regular, continual flow of information now reaching immigrants would be severely handicapped. These groups are treated alongside the professional information channels.

Programmes for immigrants attract large audiences.

In December, 1975, Sveriges Radio introduced a series of television (TV-2) broadcasts on Saturday afternoons in Greek and Serbo-Croatian The series, entitled "Invandrardags", featured both films and television programmes imported from Greece and Yugoslavia and domestically produced material with a special emphasis on immigrants in Sweden. These broadcasts continued until March of that year, at which time TV-1 started its broadcasts in Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish on Sundays. This latter series, entitled "Aktuellt för invandrare", features five minutes of news bulletins from the respective homelands, plus a 25-minute subtitled summary of the major news events featured during the week on the Swedish TV-1 evening news ("Aktuellt").

Radio broadcasts in the three languages were also introduced in March. Ten-minute programmes in Greek and Serbo-Croatian are broadcast daily Monday through Friday; 5-minute bulletins in Turkish are broadcast two evenings a week. The Turkish broadcasts consist of news bulletins from Turkey and Sweden and other "world news". Greeks and Yugoslavs receive a comparable 5-minute news block, plus five minutes of varying programme content. In addition, for several years now Swedish radio has carried a weekly music request programme for immigrants.

Sveriges Radio has spread information about this programming by enclosing a card indicating time-slots and channels in the packet of information distributed by the state in conjunction with the extension of the vote in local elections to immigrants. Further, the programmes have been publicized via both the magazine Invandrartidningen and spot announcements on radio and TV.

Despite the brief period the programmes in Greek, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian had been on the air, they were known to surprisingly many. Viewing and listening was also quite widespread among our sample. All but one of our households were familiar with the weekly news summary, which roughly 80% viewed practically every week.

All the Greek and Yugoslav households in our sample were familiar with the programme "Invandrardags", and 90% reported watching nearly every programme. One family preferred to watch sports events on the opposite channel, while others watched the programme somewhat less regularly for similar reasons -- soccer matches on TV-1 or social activities within one or another of the immigrant clubs.

Nine households of ten knew about TV-1's weekly children's stories in Greek, Serbo Croatian and Turkish. Most families with young children watched these programmes regularly, and most parents viewed the programmes together with their children. In addition, several households with no young children also watched the programmes regularly. Viewing of these programmes was most regular in families with language handicaps.

One-fourth of our sample listened to the evening-hour minority-language radio broadcasts several times a week. An additional one-fourth listened roughly once a week. One-fourth did not know about the programmes, and the remaining one-fourth did not listen, although they knew about the programmes. Reasons for non-listening were either an inconvenient time-slot, difficulty in finding the frequency (P-2) on the radio, that the programmes were too short or that the content was not interesting enough.

Immigrants' views concerning the programming were presented to programme personnel at a seminar in August, 1976. Common complaints were that radio broadcasts were generally considered too short; the programmes do not contain enough news, neither from the listeners' homelands nor from Sweden. Turkish immigrants were especially disappointed, as they only received a news bulletin two nights a week. Listeners want a more background information and news commentary in order to make the news more comprehensible.

Our respondents had many comments concerning the programme "Invandrardags". Many, for example, felt there was too much material about Sweden and not enough about Greece and Yugoslavia. They want more news and current events information from their homelands. A majority are concerned as to what Swedes think of the programmes; many expressed worry

that Swedish TV shows too much material from the less developed regions of their homelands. This concern is also reflected in the oft-expressed desire for reportage from modern-day society in their homelands -- working life, industry and current politics. This is considered important not least for their children. As for the Swedish viewers, immigrants wish to show off the natural beauty of their homelands, but features of modern society, as well.

"Aktuellt för invandrare" is seen to carry too little news from viewers' homelands -- especially among those who do not know Swedish. Many find the news stale and urge an effort to present fresher news items. Several respondents request more background information concerning news events from their homelands. Sports events from home are desired -- in all the various programmes. A majority of our respondents expressed a desire for a speaker voice in their native language in the summary of the major news events of the week. All the Turks interviewed expressed such a desire, as did many Greeks. Most have difficulty reading subtitle texts in the time allotted. Furthermore, some in our population are illiterate. Those who do not know Swedish encounter the greatest difficulty. The Greek subtitles lack accents, which has caused reading problems for many in the Greek community, who point out that it takes longer to read text without accents.

TV-1's children's stories in immigrant languages are more appreciated by children than by their parents. Many Yugoslav children, and above all their parents, heartily approve animated Yugoslav films. Greek and Turkish parents, however stress that the programmes should feature films, not drawings or still photographs.

Many immigrants are familiar with "Invandrartidningen"

Invandrartidningen is published by a state-financed foundation. Addressing itself to all foreign citizens in Sweden, it treats matters of special interest to immigrants. Serbo-Croatian and Greek editions of Invandrartidningen are published bi-weekly; an abridged version in Turkish is published in an edition addressed jointly to several language groups. The magazine is sold on subscription. Twice annually, the foundation sends out free copies of Invandrartidningen to aliens residing in Sweden by way of advertisement and to boost subscription sales. Larger firms with many

foreign employees, such as Trelleborgs Gummifabrik, offer the magazine as a personnel benefit. Invandrartidningen is generally available within various immigrant organizations, at immigrant bureaux and public libraries.

A total of 86% of the households in our study were acquainted the magazine. All Greek and Yugoslav households knew about it. Among Turks, however, it was far less well known; nearly half the Turkish households were not aware of Invandrartidningen's existence.

No differences in knowledge of or use of Invandrartidningen could be noted between groups with varying command of Swedish. It is more common that men read the magazine than women.

In slightly less than half the households interviewed one or more persons read the magazine regularly. Roughly two-thirds of the Greek and Yugoslav households read Invandrartidningen regularly, but only one-tenth of the Turkish households. This has nothing to do with the groups' general inclination to read. All these Turkish household read a Turkish newspaper daily.

More than half the households in our sample read a newspaper from their homeland. Native language newspapers are more widely and more frequently read than Invandrartidningen. Roughly one-third of those who often, or even daily, read a newspaper from their homeland also read Invandrartidningen frequently. Those who read neither Invandrartidningen nor a newspaper in their native language are few.

In the course of this study we have come to suspect that Invandrartidningen may not always be comprehensible or seem relevant to its readers. We have encouraged the publishers to look into this. In this study, however, we have confined ourselves to immigrants' contact with and interest in the magazine.

Other information from state authorities is relatively little known.

We chose the "immigrant packet" distributed by the National Immigration and Naturalization Board as an indicator of the extent to which immigrants know about and avail themselves of government information addressed to them. This packet contains various brochures with information on Swedish labour exchanges, housing bureaux, the school system, taxes, insurance, consumer information, etc. It is distributed to some immigrants together with their tax registration forms. The packet may also be ordered from the Immigration Board through Invandrartidningen or via an order form distributed to all resident aliens in Sweden. The "immigrant packet" is also available at immigration bureaux.

Among the households interviewed, some 30% knew of the "immigrant packet" and had received it. The majority, however, had neither seen nor heard of these brochures. Most of those who had received the packet had themselves acquired them at the local immigration bureau. Those who had made a personal effort to seek information about their rights in Swedish society did so with a specific problem or issue in mind. This is particularly true of those who had requested the material directly from the Immigration Board. These individuals also distinguish themselves by their relative consciousness of their socio-economic role as immigrants.

Immigrants who have lived in Sweden at least three years were enfranchised to vote in local (community, county, county council and ecclesiastical parish) elections in the Autumn of 1976. We found that all of the households, save two, knew about their right to vote. Information about the vote had been spread via various media during the past year, and it reached immigrants via an array of channels. Most respondents named radio and TV as the source of this information, but the government brochure on the subject was also frequently mentioned. Countrymen at work and in the various immigrant organizations have been a vital source of information. Other individuals in our sample have been informed of their right to vote via Swedish newspapers, teachers, and even their children's teachers.

The immigration bureaux are well known.

The Immigrant Service in Malmö has existed some ten years; in Trelleborg the city government opened an immigration bureau slightly more than one year ago. These offices offer counselling in social questions, help in finding housing, interpreter and translation services, etc. In Trelleborg these functions had earlier been served privately under the auspices of the community's major industry, Trelleborgs Gummifabrik, which had actively recruited workers from Southern Europe.

By way of reaching out to immigrants in their respective localities, immigration bureaux have distributed leaflets in a variety of languages to households, to adult education organizations offering courses in Swedish for immigrants, to social and other organizations, employers, etc.

The vast majority (90%) of our respondents in both communities knew about the local immigration bureaux. Most of the households had heard about them via countrymen, relatives or working mates. Some 60% of the households had consulted the local bureau in some matter or another. The reasons for these consultations often involved translations or interpreters' help in conjunction with contacts with authorities, medical care or tax declarations. Translations can involve such things as driver's license applications, applications for study loans, certificates, etc.

Generally speaking, those most in need of the services immigration bureaux offer were less aware of their existence than others in our sample. Those with least knowledge of Swedish visit the bureaux somewhat less than others. They rather prefer to consult friends and relatives, even when the bureaux' services are known to them. Half of the households who were unaware of the immigration bureau's existence were households with no knowledge of Swedish; the other half consisted of households which manage well in Swedish or include an adult member with good command of the language.

Nevertheless, many do not know where to turn for help.

In order to gain a better idea of where immigrants primarily tend to turn for information or help, we positied two practical problems: "If you needed to find out how to arrange a place in a day-care centre for your child -- to whom would you turn for help?" Or, if that example was inapplicable to the household in question, we asked: "If you wanted to buy a house or a flat, to whom would you turn to find out about arranging a loan?"

Some 27% of the households interviewed knew where to gather such information on their own. These were mainly those in which one or both of the heads of the household speak Swedish. None of the households with obvious language handicaps knew where to turn in these two cases. They would either consult friends or relatives or go to the immigration bureau for advice or help. Those who know about the immigration bureau and have been there on some previous occasion would almost invariably turn to the bureau for advice in such questions. Those who do not know about the bureau would turn to friends or relatives. This is the overall pattern. Those with a good command of Swedish do not make use of the immigration bureaux.

Immigrants are very interested in information from their homelands.

Under very favourable atmospheric conditions it is possible in southern Sweden to listen to medium wave broadcasts from Southern Europe, including Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The best reception is during the late evening, night and very early morning, and due to Sweden's northerly location, the period of favourable reception is quite short during the summer months. Nevertheless, listening to radio broadcasts from the homeland is quite common among the immigrant families we interviewed in Malmö and Trelleborg. Half of the households with radio receivers listen regularly, most of them even daily, to broadcasts from their homelands. An additional one-third listen occasionally, once a week or periodically, to broadcasts from home. Only 6% of the households with radio receivers refrain from listening to these broadcasts. Nine households in ten have radios.

Generally speaking, music listening is the main interest; most of our respondents tune in to hear music from home. News listening is also quite frequent. A majority listen to news broadcasts, and news listeners comprise a majority of the very regular listeners. Interest in sports is also reflected in immigrants' choice of programming from their homelands. Men predominate among news and sports listeners.

Immigrants with the poorest command of Swedish are those who listen more frequently to radio broadcasts from their homelands. Those with limited skills in Swedish also listen to more news broadcasts from their homelands than hose with a better command of the language. A somewhat greater proportion of Turkish households listens to broadcasts from home than do Greek and Yugoslav households, perhaps due to the relatively good reception of Radio Ankara's short wave frequencies in Sweden. Also, a greater proportion of Turks have a poor command of Swedish.

If we relate homeland listening to listening to Sveriges Radio's broadcasts, we find the following: Listening to programmes from home is more frequent and widespread than listening to SR's radio programmes for immigrants. This is true across the board, regardless of fluency in Swedish. Immigrants with good knowledge of Swedish tend to listen somewhat less to Sveriges Radio's immigrant programmes than those who do not understand Swedish. It is interesting to note that there are <u>two groups of regular listeners among immigrants with a good command of Swedish: those who listen regularly to Sveriges Radio listen less frequently to broadcasts from their homelands, and conversely, those who seldom listen to Sveriges Radio tend to listen to homeland broadcasts</u>. It seems to be an either-or situation for immigrants with good knowledge of Swedish. Differences in the character of the programmes may be one reason for this difference. Sveriges Radio's programme content differs from that of the respective homeland radio broadcasts.

Radio listening to both Sveriges Radio's immigrant programming and homeland broadcasts is relatively widespread and frequent <u>among those with the poorest command of Swedish</u>. In contrast to the group with <u>better knowledge of the language, here those who frequently listen to Sveriges Radio also listen regularly to homeland broadcasts</u>. Their need

of programmes in their native tongue is naturally greater, and thus also their consumption of such programmes. In this case Sveriges Radio's programmes for immigrants complement homeland broadcasts.

Half the households we interviewed continue to read newspapers from the homeland. These are mainly individuals and couples who were accustomed to reading the newspaper in their homeland, where most of them read one or more newspapers daily. But there were also individuals among them who did not read newspapers in their homeland because they could not afford them or because there were no newspapers available in their native tongue. This was particularly the case among Turks who had lived in Yugoslavia before reemigrating to Sweden.

More households have quit buying or subscribing to newspapers in their native languages since their arrival in Sweden, however. Some explain that they quit because the papers arrive in Sweden several days old and that, furthermore, they cost too much. The high frequency of homeland radio listening makes it easier to get along without a newspaper. Many immigrants read magazines from their homelands, and some reason that since newspapers arrive so late, a weekly magazine will do just as well. Those who understand Swedish tend to read native language newspapers somewhat less.

Immigrants are also anxious to learn about Sweden.

Only 20% of the households in our sample have a fair command of the Swedish language. The majority of those who can read Swedish are to be found in these households. It is important to note that even these households still have problems with the language barrier.

All our households have television sets and watch Swedish TV quite a lot. The vast majority watch TV every evening, regardless of their knowledge of Swedish. Only their work interferes with TV viewing; many individuals' work schedules are such that they can only watch TV week-ends.

Immigrant families have largely the same programme preferences as Swedish families. They like shows and other entertainment fare just as much as native Swedes. Entertainment programmes also make lesser demands on one's knowledge of Swedish. Immigrant men are avid sports fans. News and current events content also has a greater following among men than women. Women far prefer films and series over other programme content.

Most of our sample sit and watch the evening news on TV every evening, regardless of their knowledge of Swedish. Most struggle to understand despite the language barrier. They guess and help one another and try to interpret the visual content. Teen-agers who have a better knowledge of Swedish than their parents generally serve as interpreters. Certain newscasters are easier to understand than others. Most newscasters speak all too quickly for most immigrants. Newscasts contain so many unfamiliar words and references. Of an entire newscast the immigrant family may understand only one item. One woman described her news viewing as grasping at details, but never understanding the context. Similar reactions have been noted among native Swedes.

Surprisingly many households buy Swedish newspapers.
Roughly 40% of households in our sample buy/subscribe to a Swedish newspaper. This is naturally most common among households with a fairly good knowledge of Swedish, although no more than 55% of these households regularly read a Swedish paper. Two-thirds of the households with poorest command of Swedish never buy a Swedish paper.

In several families older children in the family read Swedish papers, while their parents do not, due to the language barrier. Other families in which the adult members do not understand Swedish buy newspapers now and then to check lottery results or the weekly TV schedule. We also encountered individuals who buy Swedish newspapers occasionally and get help with translations from their working mates.

Mass media usage like that of the Finnish-speaking minority.

Finish-language programmes have been broadcast on Swedish radio and television since 1969 and knowledge of the programmes is quite widespread among the Finnish community in Sweden. Consequently, any comparisons between the Finnish audience today and the minority audiences studied here would be misleading other than in the most general terms. What we should like to single out for comparison are our previous findings[1)] concerning mass media consumption, fluency in Swedish and attachment to one's homeland.

Among Finnish immigrants to Sweden we found that individuals with little or no knowledge of Swedish[2)] experience a close attachment to Finland and a high level of consumption of Finnish-language mass media. Sveriges Radio's broadcasts in Finnish are vital sources of information. Sveriges Radio also has more viewers and listeners among this group than among those with a better command of Swedish.

We sought similar relationships among the Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish communities, but mass media consumption in these groups did not show as clear-cut a relation to knowledge of Swedish as among the Finns. That is, the differences are not as pronounced as those noted in the Finnish community; some evidence of such a relationship was noted, however.

The newly started minority TV programming in Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish has a considerably larger following than Finnish-language TV programmes do today, while radio programmes have a much smaller audience than Finnish-language radio broadcasts and are still quite little known among the target audiences, which is hardly the case with the Finnish programmes.

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1) Löwander, B. "Vi är så många -- en studie av SR:s finskspråkiga publik." SR/PUB no. 74/73

2) Despite geographical proximity, the Swedish and Finnish languages derive from entirely different language groups and thus have practically nothing in common.

Of course, this may be a function of the short time these new minority programmes have been on the air. Enthusiasm among the three minority communities in our study over the newly introduced programmes may bring everyone, regardless of how well they understand Swedish, to watch the programmes just to see pictures from home and, above all hear their native tongues. This is also suggested in the responses we got when we asked why Sveriges Radio should broadcast programmes in these languages. Most respondents mention the value of hearing their own language, of seeing pictures from their homeland. Those who do not speak Swedish stress the value of being able to understand and to gain information. Those with a better command of Swedish stress that while it is important for those who do not know Swedish, they, too, enjoy being able to understand everything. Furthermore, the programmes serve another, and probably equally important, function: it is a source of both joy and reassurance to hear one's own language. (See our discussion of sense of identity, p. 3).

Most of the Finns we interviewed said that they viewed and listened mainly because the programmes were in Finnish and because they were about Finland. Secondly, they listened to gain information about events in other countries and for relaxation. Naturally, it is easier to relax when there is no language barrier to be penetrated. We found basic differences between the subgroup who understood Swedish and those who did not. Finnish-language programmes assume greater importance as sources of information for the latter, and they also are more important for this group in that they facilitate living in a foreign environment. The programmes make life in Sweden more enjoyable for this group. Finnish-language programmes are a source of information for Swedish-speaking Finns, as well. Watching and listening to these programmes gives them much more information about Finland than is otherwise offered in the Swedish broadcast media. In addition, radio and TV programmes in Finnish serve to maintain bi-lingual Finns' contact with the Finnish language.

As regards the need of information among the Greek, Turkish and Yugoslav households we interviewed, the pattern is similar. Those with the greatest language handicaps have a far greater need of programming in their native tongues, an information need they themselves perceive. These respondents

also noted that the programmes made life more enjoyable. This, of course, is related to their poor knowledge of Swedish; if you do not understand the words spoken around you, you naturally feel yourself an outsider and no doubt experience your isolation more intensely.

Homeland newspaper reading is roughly the same among Finnish-speaking immigrants as among the three smaller minorities studied. Those who experience the greatest difficulty with Swedish tend to read newspapers from home more than others. This pattern was noted among all four ethnic groups.

When we found that more than half the Finns who did not know Swedish watched Swedish TV news programmes every evening, we were surprised. We wondered if our respondents had perhaps underestimated their command of Swedish or, alternatively, overestimated their news viewing. Another possible explanation might be that they watched the news together with Swedish-speaking persons who might act as interpreters. Finally, it was possible that these people, who could not possibly understand the news content, sat and guessed what was going on on the basis of information they had gathered via the Finnish-language broadcasts or newspapers they had read.

We have also noted a high frequency of news viewing among the Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish households we interviewed. Most of our respondents in all three groups usually watch the Swedish TV news daily, irrespective of their command of Swedish. When asked how much they understood, most answered that they hardly understand anything. They guess on the basis of the visuals, the few words they understand, and the help their children can give them in the way of translations.

This, then, is the reality most of the cultural minorities in Sweden experience: Despite earnest efforts to understand, a hopeless and impossible situation.

— Tell me, Hilda, Is life worth living today?

-- Just a minute. Let me see what's on TV.

4.2 Personal variables; patterns of life

Immigrants who have come to Sweden the past five years are generally another immigrant's relative (brother, sister, cousin) or family (spouse, child). Among immigrants who arrived in Sweden more than 10 years ago the picture is another. Most early immigrants were single young men. The labour market was another: there were many jobs available, and no work permit was required prior to entry into the country. Thus, it was easier for foreign workers to "take a chance" on finding work here. It was not uncommon for Swedish firms actively to recruit labour in the Mediterranean countries. These early immigrants were quite isolated from the rest of Swedish society. They were not offered courses in Swedish, for none existed; they must try to learn the language on their own; there were no interpreters and no immigration bureaux to turn to. They received no printed information to help them orient themselves, for there was none to be had. In short, Sweden was far from prepared to receive them. Several of our respondents talked about the feeling of helplessness they experienced their first years in Sweden.

What, then, is the situation among more recent immigrants? Conditions have improved considerably in recent years. Authorities make far greater efforts to reach out to new immigrants, to provide them with information about Swedish society and to make available language training courses.

Not all adults have been offered and participated in language training courses, however. Only roughly one-half of the adults in our sample have participated in the 240-hour language classes stipulated in Swedish law. There is some correlation with the time of immigration to Sweden, but the differences are slight. Of those who arrived in Sweden prior to 1965, some 44% have received 240 hours of training in Swedish, compared to 56% of those arriving 1970-1975.

On the whole, men have a better command of Swedish than women do. This is also related to time of immigration. The differences are smaller, however, than might have been anticipated.

When we compare knowledge of Swedish and year of arrival, we find that of those who came to Sweden before 1965 only one-half manage their daily lives in Swedish, and one-third are still unable to speak the language.

A majority have completed the obligatory term of classroom education in their homeland prior to emigration. Approximately 80% of the adults in our study have completed primary school in their homelands, and one-half have furthermore attended school several years beyond primary school. Most such studies beyond the primary level consist of vocational training. Some have attended Swedish schools. There are no major differences between men and women as regards amount of education.

The obligatory term of schooling varies from country to country: it is 8 years in Yugoslavia, 6 years in Greece, and 5 years in Turkey. The amount of education noted among the various groups in our sample varies with the land of origin. One-fourth of the Turkish immigrants interviewed had attended less than 5 years of school. Turks are the group with least education, on the whole.

It is difficult to compare terms of classroom education. What does 3 years of vocational training in addition to primary schooling actually mean? Does it necessarily mean the individual will have an easier time orienting himself in Swedish society or learning a new language: It is probably of secondary importance. But, we nevertheless find that those with the shortest term of formal education, shorter than the obligatory term of schooling in their homeland, have the greatest difficulty learning Swedish. Two-thirds of those who have not completed primary school are unable to speak or read Swedish -- regardless of the period they have lived in Sweden or attendance in language training courses. None of the illiterates in our sample have learned Swedish.

It is worth repeating that roughly half the adult immigrants from these three countries have no more than 5 or 6 years of formal schooling behind them; they lack vocational training and, above all, experience of the classroom. Some of them -- roughly one-fifth -- have only a couple of years' schooling or no formal education whatsoever. Four individuals in

our sample are illiterate; with the exception of one woman they are all elderly, above retirement age. We have also encountered one woman who had not attended school, but had taught herself to read. All those with very little or no education come from Turkey.

We were unable to find any unequivocal explanation why some have received primary school education and others not. Elderly immigrants generally lack formal education, since obligatory schooling had not yet been introduced in their youth. But we cannot discern any other differences related to age. There are young people with no formal education, despite their being born during the post-war period. We sought another possible explanation in the nature of the community from which they have emigrated. We suspected that individuals from small countryside villages might have less education than those from cities, but we could find no clear-cut differences.

A majority of adult immigrants to Sweden experience severe language handicaps. Forty-three percent of those interviewed are totally unable to write or speak Swedish.

240 hours of language training is not enough to equip the individual to manage his daily life in Swedish. Of those with severe language handicaps in Swedish, half have completed these courses, while half have had no such training. Furthermore, of those who do know Swedish only slightly more have attended such courses than have learned the language on their own.

Interpreters are much needed. Some 80% of the households interviewed said they have need of an interpreter at one time or another. The households who manage without such help are those in which one or both heads of the household are able to speak and write Swedish. Thus, the vast majority need the help of interpreters, mainly in conjunction with visits to the doctor and hospital care. Other situations where interpreters are needed involve contacts with authorities, on-the-job interaction and job interviews.

Children's knowledge of their native language in jeopardy

Most school children we met have a good oral command of Swedish as well as their parents' native language. They are generally handicapped when it comes to reading and writing the latter, however.

Our sample includes 46 children who currently attend or have completed their obligatory education. Their age at immigration has decided whether or not they have started in Swedish schools.

Having attended school in their homelands is of crucial importance with respect to how well children can read, write and understand their parents' native language. Only in exceptional cases are children with no classroom experience in their homeland able to read and write their native language. The exceptions exist thanks largely to parents' encouragement and independent efforts to teach their children their native tongue. Children in families having a native language other than Swedish now have the right to receive training in that language an hour or so weekly in school. We have found that this "native language training" one or a few hours a week is of marginal importance to children 's language learning. Only those children who have received the basics in their native language prior to emigration gain any real benefit from these lessons. The training offered is far too little to give the children a good command of the language.

Furthermore, not all children receive such training in the schools. It is not clear exactly why this is so. In some cases there are too few children in the language group in the school district. Some families have taken their children out of the native language training classes in order that they not miss other school subjects, or because they were displeased with the native language instructor.

On the whole, most of the children we encountered have a better command of Swedish than the adults. This is because most of them have attended Swedish schools. Our sample included primarily young families with young children.

But there were also families with older children, in which the children displayed quite varying knowledge of the two languages. Those who had only attended school in the former homeland and had begun working in

Sweden upon arrival here are just as handicapped in Swedish as their parents. In several family circles with several children the language differences are strikingly apparent: the eldest child, like his or her parents, has a poor command of Swedish, while the youngest is Swedish-speaking with noticeable difficulties in the family's native language.

Some children in our sample are "semi-lingual", that is, they have a command neither of Swedish nor of their parents' native tongue.

When speaking with their parents, all children in the sample use their parents' native language, even in families where both adults have good knowledge of Swedish. In these cases, parents have been keenly aware of the importance of keeping their native language "alive". When speaking amongst themselves, most immigrant children speak Swedish, even in the home. They play equally much with Swedes and countrymen; the lingua franca is Swedish.

Factory jobs the rule; shift-work is common.

The proportion of working men and women in our sample is high. Some 83% of the adults between 19 and retirement age were employed. All the grandmothers and grandfathers were pensioners. In addition, there were six mothers of small children working in the home, two unemployed, and one woman on sick leave. Among the men, five were unemployed, on sick leave or in training/ rehabilitation programmes. Six more persons were studying or in vocational training.

A majority were employed in industry. Some 73% of those employed outside the home work in the rubber, metal, textile and confectionary industries. Typical occupations are machinist, welder, seamstress, boiler attendant, packer.

Shift-work is common. Roughly half of those employed in industry work shifts -- double shift or night shift. This is slightly more common among men. Some women work inconvenient hours as janitors and charwomen; several work in cafés and restaurants. Roughly 45% of all those employed outside the home had inconvenient or irregular working hours.

Men not employed in industry had quite varied occupations. Our sample included an electrician, a salesman, a goldsmith, a technician, a painter, an auto mechanic, a bookkeeper and several other entrepreneurs. Women also worked in shops and restaurant kitchens, as hospital aides, clerks and adult education teachers.

Several of our respondents had completed internal vocational training courses offered by their employers in Sweden.

Young people over 19 who still lived with their parents worked, and, like their parents, were chiefly employed in industry -- especially boys.

Immigrants long for home -- but stay.

Three of our households -- two Yugoslav and one Greek -- definitely plan to return to their homelands the next year or so. Roughly 20% of our households were undecided as to whether they would stay in Sweden. Several of these families said they wanted to return to their homelands; it is their fondest hope to be able to do so. But the vast majority, as many as threefourths, definitely plan to stay in Sweden the coming five years, at least.

Immigrants have had many different reasons for coming to Sweden, and thus their interest in staying and settling down here varies. Many will remain in Sweden, even though they wish they could return home. Perhaps they will never become accustomed to the idea of staying here permanently. Other factors will decide their future. Children who have grown up in Swedish society may be expected to want to stay, and the choice children make will probably be the decisive factor for many parents. The labour market or housing situation in their homeland may not change for the better, so that returning home is no feasible alternative for them. Their self-perceived need to return to the homeland may never crystallize into reality, but remain only a fond dream.

How do immigrants compare life in Sweden with their lives in the former homeland? All miss something from home. Many speak of the lack of hospitality and absence of a sense of community with others in Sweden. They have no contact with their neighbours, and there are no means by which to establish contact. "Everything here is so stiff and starchy, you don't dare be yourself." "There's no warmth, no spontaneity." "We miss the ways of getting together with people down home; you're always an outsider in Sweden."

Contact with Swedes is not widespread among the immigrants we talked to. One-third of the households had one or more Swedes among their personal acquaintances. Several of these households counted Swedes married to countrymen. Families who spoke Swedish tended to have more contact with Swedes.

Most respondents missed their friends and family at home. Many mentioned longing for food or vegetables that are not available in Sweden. Social life and forms of entertainment are also missed, as are churches, cinemas and the opportunity to "go out". Several feel like outsiders in Sweden, and that is the reason one family is returning to Greece.

Nevertheless, most immigrants are planning to stay in Sweden. They hope for harmony and economic security here. Many hope their children will be able to study in Sweden. Some hope to be able to return home, that their former homelands will one day have jobs for them. One woman said she hoped to be able to "live as well as now, but in Yugoslavia". Many Turks, when asked what they hoped for in the future answered, "TV-programmes in Turkish".

Contact with countrymen indispensable

Regardless of when they arrived in Sweden, almost all our respondents had the help of a countryman -- relative or friend -- in finding housing and work in Sweden. Even if they had no such contact upon arrival, someone has usually turned up to help them get started.

Of course, there are exceptions. Several Yugoslavs had arranged jobs with Swedish firms via employment bureaux in Yugoslavia. Swedish firms have also actively recruited labour in several communities in Yugoslavia -- mainly Macedonia, where, for example, Trelleborgs Gummifabrik recruited workers in Bitola. Several of our respondents knew others who had found work through Swedish employment bureaux and had written to or taken other direct contact with Swedish firms. One person in our sample landed a job in Sweden via an advertisement in a West German newspaper. Another had been helped by Swedish authorities, since he had arrived in the country as a political refugee. Some had, with no help whatsoever, found jobs on their own. In most cases, however, a countryman had helped them find work after their arrival in Sweden.

Most of our respondents had also had the help of countrymen in arranging their housing. Many of the individuals in our sample lived in the homes of countrymen immediately after their arrival and had then found a home of their own when the rest of their family arrived. Fifteen of our 59 households had been helped with housing by the firm for which they worked. These were mainly employees recruited directly by Swedish firms in Greece and Yugoslavia.

Thus, countrymen have usually been the go-betweens in approaching the new environment. Some newcomers have had to manage on their own with the help of phrase-books; others have spoken a little English or German. Some have been recruited to Sweden by Swedish firms and have had the services of interpreters engaged by their employers. But, in most cases it is countrymen who have offered a helping hand, showing the way to immigration bureaux and other social services.

Relatives and other countrymen are those who spread knowledge of rights and obligations in Swedish society that authorities have failed to communicate. Information on important matters, and most matters, comes through countrymen. Countrymen are those who interpret and guide the newcomer to various authorities, to immigration bureaux or immigrant social clubs, and who spread the word about Invandrartidningen. Countrymen are often the source of news about current events in Swedish society, and it is countrymen that most immigrants turn to when they need advice or help.

Contentment with life in Sweden and the intention of staying here were found to be related to the interest individuals demonstrated in seeking information about events and processes in the new environment. Another factor closely related to information seeking behaviour was membership in organisations and clubs. Members of immigrant organisations, who thereby come in frequent contact with countrymen, are often well-informed about events in both Sweden and their homelands.

Half of the households we interviewed included members of immigrant clubs. In Malmö these organisations meet in the community Youth Centre. Our samples include members of Greek, Turkish, Moslem, Albanian and Yugoslavian clubs. In Trelleborg Greek and Yugoslav organisations are each housed in a barracks-like bungalow. Trelleborg also has an international club, with members of several nationalities. It is basically an athletic association.

Men are more active in clubs than women. Many men visit the clubhouse several times a week to play chess or cards. Women generally only attend club social events, and they take their children with them on such occasions. Children and young adults are active participants in organisations featuring folk dance and music.

Greek families are somewhat more active in clubs and other organisations than other ethnic groups.

Club activity bears no relation to knowledge of Swedish. No greater proportion of those who do not speak Swedish are active in clubs. Neither does it seem that immigrants with more severe language handicaps attend immigrant clubs more frequently or regularly than others. Most immigrants visit the clubhouse at least once a week, usually on week-ends.

Programmes everyone can understand

At the outset we stated our conviction that programmes should be produced with reference to the backgrounds and needs of their prospective viewers and listeners. In this context it is important to keep in mind that the immigrant communities are extremely heterogeneous, which implies that immigrants as a group have a wide range of information needs.

While it is true that immigrants in Sweden on average have more formal education than the average Swede, there are many exceptions. The immigrant communities include many with very little education; there are some illiterates -- particularly in the Turkish community. There are immigrants from small villages who have never before been confronted with city-life and industrial work routines. These individuals, even though they hardly form a majority of all the immigrants in Sweden, are here in Swedish society and are having a hard time of it. Sveriges Radio must take special consideration of these individuals in its programme production.

There is a documented need of news and current events programming that does more than merely report, that emphasizes background and commentary to fill lacunae in viewers' and listeners' knowledge reserves. Responses in our interviews indicate that this is true with respect not only to happenings in Swedish society, but to events in immigrants' homelands, as well. Those with the poorest educational backgrounds were not alone in requesting such material.

In other words, there are information gaps within the cultural and ethnic minorities in Swedish society. But, as the volume of information made available to immigrants in their native languages grows, the opportunities to bridge those gaps also multiply.

5. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Our aim has been to cast light upon the lives of Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish immigrants in Sweden and to determine the extent to which they receive information communicated via the mass media and authorities. Our surveys were conducted in Malmö and Trelleborg in southern Sweden.

Many seek information in their native languages.
Our interviews reveal that many immigrants in these communities know about and avail themselves of the mass media content offered in their native languages. A majority watch the programmes for immigrants on TV, and minority-language radio broadcasts reach one-fourth of the immigrant households regularly. A majority read a newspaper from their homeland regularly. Furthermore, quite many in these two southern communities listen to radio broadcasts from their homelands. These findings indicate that immigrants have a great need of information from their homelands, but from their new surroundings as well. Throughout our material a larger proportion of those with a poor command of Swedish make use of native-language mass media.

Of the information distributed by the state, Invandrartidningen was found to be well-known in most quarters, while other government information distributed by the National Immigration and Naturalization Board is relatively unknown. Our survey revealed considerable information-seeking behaviour. Immigrants go out of their way to find out what is happening, and make great use of the information made available to them in languages they understand. When in need of specific information concerning their rights in Sweden, they take the initiative in seeking such information. Our findings confirm the vital importance of the local immigration bureaux; once immigrants have become aware of the services offered there, they almost always turn to them for help. Immigrants have considerable need of interpreters and persons who can help them get oriented in Swedish society in their own language. Printed information is far from sufficient in this regard.

Many would like to inform themselves in Swedish.

All the immigrant households in our sample had TV-sets. While the vast majority watch the Swedish television news programmes practically every evening, only a few can understand the news. Those who do not know Swedish struggle to comprehend the content on the basis of the pictures they see and the few familiar words they can pick up. Newscasters speak all too rapidly, and items contain all too many unfamiliar words and references. News viewing is a question of grasping at details, but never understanding the whole, as one woman put it. Surprisingly many households, some 40% of our sample, buy Swedish newspapers. Those who cannot read Swedish ask their children, friends or working mates to translate for them. We take this as a sign of great interest in finding out about what is happening in the world around them in their new home.

Knowledge of Swedish seldom adequate

It seems quite clear that good knowledge of Swedish is anything but an automatic consequence of living in Sweden a greater length of time. Neither do those who have attended the statutory 240 hours of language training necessarily manage any better in Swedish than those who have not.

The educational background of the individual before immigration is related to his or her command of Swedish after immigration. Those with little formal schooling have a much harder time learning Swedish. Turkish immigrants have generally less education than their Greek and Yugoslav counterparts; their knowledge of Swedish is also poorer, despite language training courses.

Children's knowledge of their parents language in jeopardy

Having attended school in the homeland is decisive for children's ability to read and write their "native" language. Children who have only attended Swedish schools cannot read and write their native language solely on the basis of the "native language training" they get in Swedish schools. This worries their parents. Some parents we interviewed are trying to teach their children on their own.

Factory jobs and shift-work are common

The majority of the immigrants we interviewed work in industry, and most have irregular working hours. Women work to the same extent as men and have factory jobs or other work with irregular working hours to roughly the same extent, too. Most arrange for their children's care privately; contacts with the community children's day-care centres seem to be the exception. Couples either work different shifts and share the care of their children or put their children in the care of a countryman, often a relative. Less than one-third of our sample knew how to go about arranging a place for their child in a community day-care centre.

Programmes everyone can understand

There is a documented need of news and current events programming that does more than merely report, that emphasizes background and commentary to fill lacunae in viewers' and listeners' knowledge reserves. Responses in our interviews indicate that this is true with respect not only to happenings in Swedish society, but to events in immigrants' homelands as well.

There are information gaps within the cultural and ethnic minorities in Swedish society. But, as the volume of information made available to immigrants in their native languages grows, the opportunities to bridge those gaps also multiply.

APPENDIX I

1. Procedure

In the pilot study interpreters attached to the immigration bureau in Malmö translated the questions I asked and the responses to those questions. Where respondents understood Swedish, I conducted the interview personally.

In the study reported here six persons with Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish as their respective native languages were relied upon as interviewers. They were basically the same group as had served as interpreters in the pilot study. They were given instructions and supplied with schedules of questions. I maintained regular contact with the interview staff during data collection, and after the completion of the interviews we discussed the material gathered, household by household. This afforded some complementary information concerning the interview situation. The interest shown by the corps of interviewers has greatly stimulated me in my work.

The interview schedules contained a fixed series of openended questions. The formulation of the questions had been discussed with the immigrant programme production units within Sveriges Radio.

2. The sample

The county census register lists residents' nationality. Personnel within the County of Malmöhus have selected our sample on the basis of this register. We considered a population of 30 households from each of the three ethnic groups sufficient for our purposes. Such a population would permit comparative studies. While a larger sample would naturally have been desirable, costs were prohibitive. As we wished to compare a larger community with a smaller one, we ordered two samples: 20 households in each ethnic group in the city of Malmö, and 10 households per ethnic group in the smaller community, Trelleborg.

That nationality is not always an indicator of language group in these three countries was not unknown to us. Unfortunately, quite some difficulty arose in the form of Turkish- and Albanian-speaking Yugoslavs, Greek-speaking Turks, etc.

Greater problems derived from the obsolescence of the statistical data. Of the original 90 households, eight had reemigrated. Furthermore, many other households had since changed address. In some cases it could not be determined whether or not the family still resided in Sweden. We know that the eight families reemigrated thanks only to interviewers' contacts with neighbours and the local immigrant organisations.

3. Frequency of non-responses

Table 1. Actual non-responses

Nationality/locality in Sweden		N households		N persons		Of which adults (≥20 yrs)		Of which children 0-9 yrs		Of which children 10-19 yrs	
Turks	Malmö	3	14%	7	10%	4	10%	2	8%	1	9%
	Trelleborg	0		0		0		0		0	
Greeks	Malmö	3	15%	8	11%	5	13%	1	4%	2	17%
	Trelleborg	1		2		2		0		0	
Yugoslavs	Malmö	9	32%	34	32%	20	33%	8	28%	6	40%
	Trelleborg	0		0		0		0		0	
	N	17		51		32		11		9	
	%	22		18		19		14		23	

As Table 1 indicates, total non-response amounted to 18%. This figure might have been reduced if we knew for sure whether one or more of the households had reemigrated. The main cause of non-response was our inability to contact the intended respondents, i.e. the entire household. In some cases we were unable to locate the household; in others, it proved impossible to assemble the members of the household at one and the same time. In several cases the heads of the household worked practically around the clock, far more than the usual eight-hour day.

Four households refused to participate in the study. We tried to reach the families by mail, but without result.

All households were contacted by telephone prior to the interview; families with no telephone were contacted in person in order to establish a suitable time for the interview. Some households were contacted more than five times due to changes of plans on the part of the respondents.

In an attempt to reduce the frequency of non-response a mail questionnaire was prepared and sent out. Well aware of the problems associated with mail questionnaires, we nevertheless hoped this technique might bring some response. An abridged version of the interview schedule was drawn up, translated and mailed to all those who had not been reached per telephone or by personal visits. Not a single questionnaire was returned, other than those "returned to sender" because the addresses had moved.

Non-response and the reemigrated households mean that children under the age of 10 and persons aged 20 to 30 years are somewhat overrepresented in our population. That is, we have more young parents with children than are to be found in the total population. Middle-aged adults, older children and teen-agers, on the other hand, are somewhat underrepresented.

APPENDIX 2.

Programmes for Immigrants in Sweden, Spring 1976

In Finnish:

Fri Sat Sun	1730-1800 0900-1100 0900-1100	TV-programmes imported from Finland (mainly about Finland, including news) " " " " "
Sun	1100-1130	TV-news (mostly from the Swedish news programmes)
Mon	1650-1700	TV-programmes for children, produced by SR.
Mon-Fri	0600-0630 0800-0830 1700-1730	Radio programmes produced by SR (mostly about Finns in Sweden) " " " " "
Sat	1300-1400	" " " " "

In Serbo-Croatian and Greek:

Sun	1130-1200 1200-1230	(S-C) TV-news (mostly from the Swedish programmes) (G) " " " " "
Sat	1600-1700	TV-programmes, imports and SR-produced (Greek and Serbo-Croatian alternate weeks)
Tues Wed	1650-1700 1650-1700	(S-C) TV-programmes for children, produced by SR. (G) " " " " " "
Mon-Fri	1900-1920	Radio programmes (news and reportage) produced by SR. (10 min. Serbo-Croatian + 10 min. Greek)

In Turkish:

Sun	1230-1300	TV-news (mostly from the Swedish news programmes)
Thurs	1650-1700	TV-programmes for children, produced by SR.
Tues, Thurs	1920-1925	Radio programmes, produced by SR (To be replaced Autumn 1976 by a magazine-format programme, Sat 1100-1130)

AUTUMN 1976	hours
In Finnish	11:50
Greek	2:42
Serbo-Croat.	2:42
Turkish	1:10
	18:24

The increase applies to children's programmes, magazines and news.